TOR USE SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER II, 1960

## FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

"Cuba was handed to Castro and the Communicative a Castro of Americans in the same way that China was handed to the Castro of Secators James O. Eastland (D.-Mies.) and Thomas J. Dese D. Said today in releasing the testimony of two former United States are to Cuba, who appeared before the Subcommittee on Internal Security. The Ambassaders who gave evidence on which the two Secators based to statement were Earl E. T. Smith, who represented the United States to Havana when Castro rose to power, and Arthur Carthar, who was Mr. Smith's immediate predecessor.

"The testimony of both these gestlemen demonstrates that American foreign policy is not made in the office of Secretary Herter on the fifth floor of the State Department," said Eastland and Dodd. "It is made on the fourth floor, by the unknown policy planners and memo makers who fill the Secretary's 'in' basket." According to Messre. Smith and Gardner, Fidel Castro was the here of the In-Basket Brigade. They worked with pro-Castro elements in the American press to make Castro appear as Robin Hood. They misguided American opinion in exactly the same way the In-Basket Brigade of 1945 misguided American opinion with the myth that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformers.

"The State Department has not been cleaned of these elements whose policies contributed so much to the loss of China to the free world. Secretary Herter, the man on the quarter deck, is not in charge of the ship."

The Senators drew particular attention to this statement of Ambassador Smith.

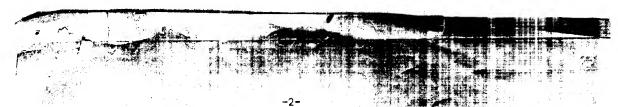
"We helped to overthrow the Batista dictatorship which was pre-American, only to install the Castro dictatorship, which is pre-Bussian."

According to former Ambassador Smith, the agencies of the United States Government which "had a hand in bringing pressure to everthrow the Batista government" were "certain influential people, influential cources in the State Department, lower down echeloss in the CIA" and "representatives of the majority of the United States" Government agencies which have anything to do with the Emphasey" in Cuba.

Both former Ambassadors indicated that William Wisland, sachad charge of Central American Affairs as Director of the Otate Department's Caribbean Division, was a supporter of leftiet elemests in Latin America. Both indicated that Roy A. Rubottom suggested policies which aided Castro's rise to power, although Mr. Smith expressed the opinion that Mr. Rubottom had done so only after terrific pressure." Mr. Rubottom was Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs during the ambassadorships of Mesers. Cardner and Smith. He was regently named Ambassador to Argentine.

Mr. Smith made the extraordinary revelation that Willie Wieland at him (Smith) to Herbert Matthewayof the November 1 (Market on Cuban affection Cuban affectio

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When Mr. Smith reached Havana, he found out that "Castro was a revolutionary and a terrorist. From the time that he was a university student, he was a gun-toter," said the former Ambasa dor; "I was informed by a diplomat that he had killed two priests and the mar: in Bogota during the uprising in 1948."

"Whether he started out as a Communistor not doubts but a Costro did make a number of statements at Costa Rica and outro! Mexic (before he won the revolution) which clearly showed his darkist line thinking."

Mr. Smith was asked by Counsel J. G. Sourcinet als there any doubt in your mind, that the Cuban government under Castro is a Communiat government?"

He answered. "I would go further. I believe it is becoming a satellite. A Communist satellite."

The U. S. Government agencies and the U. S. press played a major role in bringing Castro to power," continued the Ambassador.

"Three front-page articles in the New York Times in early 1957, written by the editorialist Herbert Matthews, served to inflate Castro to world stature and world recognition. Until that time, Castro had been just another bandit in the Oriente Mountains of Cube, with a handful of followers who had terrorized the campesinos, that is the passents, throughout the countryside.

"Fidel Castro landed on the south coast of Orientesin December of 1956 from Mexico with an expeditionary force of 81 men." Intercepted by Cuban gunboats and patrol planes, Castro and a handful of stragglers managed to ensconce themselves in the rugged 8,000-foot Sierra Maestra Range.

"After the Matthews articles which followed an exclusive interviews by the Times editorial water in Castro's mountain hideout and which likened him to Abraham Lincoln, he was able to get followers and funds in Cuba and in the United States. From that time on arms, money and soldiers of fortune abounded. Much of the American press began to picture Castro as a political Robin Hood.

"Also because Batista was the dictator who unlawfully seized power, American people assumed Castro must, on the other hand, represent linearly and damper act. The crusader role which the press and radio bestowed or the Landah Rebel blinded the people to the laftwing political philosophy with WHIGH even at that time he was already on record.

"His speeches as a student leader, his interviews as an exile while in Mexico, Costa Rica, and elsewhere clearly outlined a Marxist trend of political thought.

"The official U.S. attitude toward Castro Could not help but he influenced by the pro-Castro press and radio cartain Members of Conorman picked up the torch for him.

"There were a number of times, number of occasions when I was naked as the Ambassador if we would help the church in its efforts to establish a bridge between Castro and Batista, or if we, in any way, would support a national unity government. Such government would act as a provisional government in Cuba to maintain law and order while elections were being held.

"The United States would never agree to support be would never permit me to negotiate, because it would be considered as intervening in the internal affairs of Cuba.

Batista made three bid mistakes. The matebid alstake harmads was men he did not hold honestylections, which he had promised and on numerous and many occasions that he would be with the hold of the many occasions that he would be with the hold of the many occasions that he would be with the would be with the many occasions that he would be with the many occasions the would be with the many occasions that he would be with the many occasions the would be with the wou

Ratists It is true, that the U.S. Government instruction in

122

As far as the disintegration of the armed forces around the latieta government, the answer is that this negative action helped shatter the more a es the existing government. The responsibility for the deterioration is the morale of the army, navy, and Cuban Air Force dates back to many other for of direct and indirect -- I use the word "intervention" advisedly. y other fores

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"Primarily I would say that when we refused to sell arms to the laber Government and also by what I termed intervening by immundo (which was persuading other friendly governments not to sell arms to take) that these actions had a moral, psychological effect upon the Cuben armed forces which was demoralizing to the nth degree.

The reverse, it built up the morale of the revolutionary forces.

Obviously when we refused to sell arms to a friendly government, the mist government, the people of Cuba and the armed forces knew that the United States no longer would support Batista's government.

"A decision such as prohibiting the sale of arms to a friendly nation can have devastating effects upon the government in power.

"We even did not fulfill our promise to deliver 15 training plants, which had been bought and paid for by the Batista government. In accordance with instructions from the State Department I informed Batista that dulivers would be suspended, because we feared some harm might come to the \$7 didney. Americans. The kidnaping by Raul Castro of 30 U.S. marines and sailors, American citizens, and 3 Canadians occurred at this time.

"After the kidnaped Americans were returned we still refused to deliver these training planes because we feared that bombs could be put on the plane even though they were strictly for training purposes.

"I reiterate that decisions such as these may determine whether . got ment can remain in power.

"Although they could buy arms and assumition from other sources, that psychological impact on the morale of the government was crippling 1 1 th other hand, it gave a great uplift to the morale of the rebels.

Former Ambassador Gardner declared that a shipment of military sculpment to Batista, arranged under the mutual aid pact, was "stopped" on the New York docks. He declared it was "common gossip" that "Rubottom was the only man who could have stopped it."

At the same time, according to Mr. Gardner, shipments of arms and ammunition to Castro from the United States were being sent down surreptitiously almost every night. Every once in a while we were able to entor such a shipment and stop it. But we were not very active about it, are one factor which I think was one of the most serious was that the former President, named Prio, was living in Mismi. I don't know whether you move this or not, but he was arrested, convicted, and paid a five-thousand toll: fine for gun-running. He was also indicted a second time. And yet no act was ever taken on it.

This is Mr. Smith's testimony: The Batista government complained continually about the airlifts and airdrops of bodies, and arms from the Un-States. I always kept the State Department fully informed.

"But we seemed to have great trouble in enforcing our neutrality ave I have sometimes vished that we had been half as diligent at that time in I have sometimes visbed that we have been lately.

Senator Eastland. Enforcing those laws not law government in Cube, is it not?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Ensurer to a question from Senstor Dodd Approved Feb Release 2002/41/18: CIA-RDR 20B01676R000900040045-2

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"Mr. Smith. In all due justice to Roy Rubottom, I thin that Roy Rubottom was under terrific pressure from segments of this press, from certain Members of Congress, from the avalanche of Sasympathizers and revolutionary sympathizers who daily descended up the State Department, and Rubottom may have taken the line of less resistance.

Mr. Smith said. The espionage system of the Castripeople was so good that they knew nearly everything that was point on. They had their spies planted in the Cuban Embassy in Was ing ton" before Castro came to power.

"Many of these people, who later became members of netirat Cabinet of Castro were asyless in the United States. I ey had close contacts with members of the State Department.

"To name a few Jrrutia, the first President of the Agramonte, the first Presign Minister of Cuba, the first Prin Minister of Cuba, Miro Cardona. As a matter of fact, the first that I met Cardona was after Batista had left the country. I also about the 4th of January of 1959 in the Presidential palace. The turned to me and said, if and a good friend of William Wieland.

Mr. Smith asserted that before the Castro forces ar ave in Havana, they had been demanding tribute throughout Cuba. By the fall or the late summer of 1958, they decided to also demand withoute by American business and American property holders. Tower closing days of the Balista regime, I believe some Americans pay protection mone. They were paying taxes to the bath the pay arrangent and were also were taxes to the Castro peop.

Mr. Smith also a concert criticized the haste with a she Castro government was ecognized by the United States in declared that the State Department had ordered him to recipital A Castro government before that the making of policies by the permitten the fourth floor dr. mith said:

"I believe that the policies are determined in the two without and by the time the higher echelon receives them the have already been made, and they have to live by them.

"I would like to recommend that some higher authors of such as the National Security Council of the United States, Cate what our attitude toward another nation should be. Then all the actions of the State Department should be guided according to supplicy as laid down by the National Security Council. I am a me decision of the National Security Council would be arrived at the shat is in the best interest of the United States.

"If they believed it was in the best interest of the united States to be friendly to another power and to give a that power, then our actions along that line should be guided accordingly."

Mr. Gardner declared that when he was Ambassaccr in an deavored to lay the facts about Castro and the Cuban situation be Secretary Herter, former Under Secretary Robert Murphy and Under Secretary Loy Henderson, as well as others in the State Department He said he was "ignored, overlooked, and circum"ented

Both former Ambassadors emphasized that the downfall Cuha has enjoying the greatest of the life his correction of the commented Senators Eastland the Cuban economy has been approved for Release 2062/11/15 CIA-RDP80B046 Act 1000-200040045-2

